DDI #01193-86 13 March 1986

MEMORANDUM	FOR:	Director,	EURA
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NIO/Europe

SUBJECT:

Spain

1.	Fur	ther to	my tele	phone c	onversati	lon with	John	
McLaugh	nlin,	I think	t it woul	dbea	good idea	a to go 1	back and	assess
why we	were	wrong o	on the ou	tcome o	f the Spa	anish NA	TO	
referen	ndum.	From t	he NIE t	o types	cripts ar	id curre	n t	
intelli	lgence	, we co	nsistent	ly conv	eyed a pe	essimist	ic view	that .
Gonzale	ez cou	ild brin	ng off a	victory	. In one	recent	typescr	ipt,
for exa	ample,	the mo	st optim	istic s	cenario d	liscusse	d was th	e
outside	poss	ibility	of a ve	ry narr	ow win	- "the b	est he c	ou1d
hope fo	•			-				

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2. I am even more disturbed by John's indication to me that, in fact, a number of the analysts felt "in their gut" that Gonzalez would be victorious. If so, that view certainly was not conveyed to me much less anyone in the policy community in any of our written materials. In the Political Instability Quarterly, we take note of the fact that sometimes analysts' instincts go contrary to the evidence and we even have a special column in the checklist where an instinctive assessment can be expressed -- and explicitly acknowledged as an analyst's "gut feel." I would like to know why, if the analysts felt this way, it somehow did not emerge in some respect in any of our assessments.



3. Because this story has a happy ending, I doubt that we will receive much outside criticism. For our own benefit, however, I believe we should closely examine this case and reflect on lessons that could be applied in the future.

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Robert M Gates
Deputy Director for Intelligence

cc: C/MPS/PES

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